

THE
MEMORIAL
OF 4.
MONSIEUR LE BRUN,
K
SECRETARY FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS
TO THE
FRENCH REPUBLIC.
ON THE
SITUATION OF AFFAIRS
BETWEEN
GREAT BRITAIN AND FRANCE,
DELIVERED 17th DECEMBER 1792,
BY
MONSEUR CHAUVELIN,
TO
LORD GRENVILLE,
SECRETARY FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS IN LONDON;
WITH HIS
LORDSHIP'S ANSWER.

LONDON:
PRINTED FOR JAMES RIDGWAY, YORK-STREET,
ST. JAMES'S SQUARE.

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[Price Threepence, or the Cost of the Paper]

R E P O R T
MADE BY
M. L E B R U N,
SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS,
TO THE
NATIONAL CONVENTION OF FRANCE,
ON THE
SITUATION OF AFFAIRS
BETWEEN
GREAT BRITAIN AND FRANCE,
AND DELIVERED TO
LORD GRENVILLE,
BY
MONSEUR SHAUVELIN,
MINISTER OF THE FRENCH REPUBLIC
IN
LONDON.

THE British parliament, which had been prorogued to January, has been suddenly assembled. The session was opened on the 13th of this month. This extraordinary measure naturally called the attention of government to its cause and its consequences. It is my duty not to leave the National Convention ignorant of what I have been able to discover. A little after the immortal day of the

roth of August, and the change produced upon that occasion in the form of our government, the English ministry were pleased to put a stop to all official communication with us, and to recal their ambassador; either because they were persuaded that the days of counter-revolution and of our slavery were near, or solely, as the illustrious orator of the opposition (Mr. Fox) ingeniously said, on the first day of the session, because they thought it unbecoming and unworthy of the royal majesty of Britain, to have a representative to an executive council, the members of which had not been anointed from the sacred phial at the grand altar of Rheims. Whatever be the cause, the provisional executive council did not think proper to follow the same procedure—they continued to keep at London, a minister of the French Republic, whom they charged to seize every occasion to assure the English nation, notwithstanding the ill humour of their government, that the French people desired most ardently to merit their esteem, and to preserve that good understanding and friendship, which ought ever to unite two free and generous nations.

“ The National Convention have received, upon different occasions, striking testimonies of the reciprocity of these good dispositions, and of the sincere interest which the English people take in the success of our arms, and the triumph of French liberty.

“ But these same glorious events produced a very different effect on the ministry of St. James's. In a short time, fear, or jealousy of our victories; the solicitations of our base rebels; the vile intrigues of
hostile

hostile courts; and a secret umbrage inspired by the numerous addresses of felicitation which came to us from all parts of England; determined them to adopt military preparations less ambiguous, and abruptly to assemble parliament.

“The National Convention will see by the King’s speech, of which I subjoin a translation, that the hostile measures, which are chiefly and ostensibly directed to oppose the popular ferment which has for some time discovered itself in England, are likewise, to a certain degree, intended against France, as several accusations are thrown out, of which we cannot mistake the application, notwithstanding the vague manner in which they are presented. When the moment shall come to reply to those accusations, it will be easy for the French government fully to justify itself. It will not fear to appeal to the judgment of all Europe—to the testimony of Pitt himself. It will then be seen who ought really to be accused of having sown, by corrupting gold, distrust, commotion, and disorder.

“Truly if the agents, even those not acknowledged by their court, whom we keep in England, could have been really suspected of those arts which are only employed by weak minds—if their conduct had not always been circumspect and loyal, can it be believed that the members of the English ministry would have desired to see them confidentially, to communicate with them, to grant them secret conferences? I will submit to those committees whom the National Convention may appoint, exact details of those conferences, of the complaints, the objections, the an-
B 3
swer,

fers, the offers, and propositions which have been made on both sides; the instructions which have been given to our agents in these delicate circumstances and lastly, the state of the armaments which have been ordered.

“ From this statement it will appear that these armaments, as yet, need not alarm us, since they amount only to four ships of the line more than the establishment of former years; since, of the 16 ships which are in a state to act, there are at least ten known by the name of guard-ships, the oldest and worst of the English navy: Finally, since the King has declared, that the armament will not be attended with any additional taxes, and will be defrayed by the funds destined for the annual reduction of the national debt.

“ It will likewise appear that the grievances which serve as a pretext for these armaments, may be reduced to three heads, namely,

“ I. The opening of the Scheldt.

“ II. Your decree of 19th November.

“ III. The intentions imputed to the French Republic respecting Holland.

“ An answer was given to the first point, by arguments founded on the rights of nature, on the rights of nations, and on the principles of justice and liberty, which the French nation has consecrated, and the full and entire enjoyment of which it could not refuse to the Belgians. It was replied, that treaties extorted by avarice, and consented to by despotism, could not bind the Belgians, restored to freedom and liberty—an answer was given by that silence which

which England itself observed in 1785, when the same question was hostilely agitated by Joseph II.

“ To the second complaint an answer was given by the frank explanation of the real intentions which animated the National Convention, when they passed that beneficent decree. There are two very distinct cases in which this decree may find its application, either towards the people who are under the dominion of those powers with whom we are at war, or with respect to countries governed by powers absolutely neutral. In these there can be no difficulty; in the first case, the decree finds its application in a direct manner, and in the utmost extent; and no foreign power whatever can find fault with it. In the second case it is clear, that the intention of the National Convention was never to engage themselves to make the cause of a few foreign individuals the cause of the whole French nation; but when a people subjected to a despot shall have the courage to break their chains; when this people, restored to liberty, shall have constituted themselves in such a manner as to clearly manifest the expression of the general will; and when this general will shall call to its assistance the fraternity of the French nation; it is then that the decree of November 19 naturally finds its application, and we doubt whether it can appear strange to any one. It is then that we give to a nation newly made free, a support which we ourselves would have desired, and which, perhaps, we should have a right to expect from another free nation. To this general answer, an observation was added, which relates more particularly to the reproach thrown out against us in respect to Holland—

land—it was, that it is much to be desired, that the British ministry had never interfered with the internal government of that Republic, which they have assisted to subjugate, and with which we ourselves do not wish to interfere.

“ In short, citizen president, I have charged the minister of the French Republic at London, to demand a new conference with Lord Grenville, who has the department of foreign affairs ; and, after reminding him of the futility of all the complaints against us, I then have authorised him to declare, in the name of the French Republic, that if, contrary to expectation, the intention of the ministry of St. James’s, be to occasion a rupture at any rate ; as we shall have exhausted all the explanations necessary for demonstrating the purity of our views, and our respect for the independence of other powers ; as it will be evident that this war is only a war of the British ministry alone against us, we shall not fail to make a solemn appeal to the English nation ; that we shall refer to the tribunal of its justice and generosity, the examination of a cause, in which a great nation will be seen supporting the rights of nature, of justice, of liberty, and of equality, against a ministry who will have created this quarrel only from motives of pure personal convenience ; that, in fine, we will constitute the English nation the judge between us and them ; and thus the examination of this process may lead to consequences which the British ministry have not foreseen.

“ I expect the result of this declaration : and I will take the earliest opportunity of communicating it to the National Convention.”

A N S W E R
OF THE RIGHT HON. LORD GRENVILLE,
TO THE
PRECEDING MEMORIAL.

Whitehall, Dec. 31, 1792.

“ I HAVE received, Sir, from you a Note, in which, styling yourself Minister Plenipotentiary of *France*, you communicate to me, as the KING's Secretary of State, the Instructions which you state to have yourself received from the Executive Council of the French Republic. You are not ignorant, that since the unhappy events of the 10th of August, the KING has thought proper to suspend all Official Communication with *France*. You are yourself no otherwise accredited to the KING, than in the name of His MOST CHRISTIAN MAJESTY. The proposition of receiving a Minister accredited by any other authority or power in *France*, would be a new question, which, whenever it occurred, the KING would have the right to decide according to the interests of his Subjects, his own Dignity, and the regard which he owes to his Allies, and to the general system of Europe. I am therefore to inform you, Sir, in express and formal terms, that I acknowledge you in no other public character than that of Minister from His MOST CHRISTIAN MAJESTY, and that consequently you cannot be admitted to treat with the KING's Ministers, in the quality, and under the form stated in your Note.

" But observing that you have entered into Explanations of some of the circumstances which have given to *England* such strong grounds of uneasiness and jealousy, and that you speak of these Explanations as being of a nature to bring our two Countires nearer, I have been unwilling to convey to you the notification stated above, without at the same time explaining myself clearly and distinctly on the subject of what you have communicated to me, though under a form which is neither regular nor official.

" Your Explanations are confined to three point :

" The first is that of the Decree of the *National Convention* of the 19th of November, in the expressions of which all *England* saw the formal declaration of a design to extend universally the new principles of Government adopted in *France*, and to encourage disorder and revolt in all Countries, even in those which are neutral. If this interpretation, which you represent as injurious to the Convention, could admit of any doubt, it is but too well justified by the conduct of the Convention itself. And the application of these principles to the KING's Dominions, has been shewn unequivocally, by the public reception given to the Promoters of Sedition in this Country, and by the speeches made to them precisely at the time of this Decree, and since on several different occasions.

" Yet, notwithstanding all these proofs, supported by other circumstances which are but too notorious, it would have been with pleasure that we should have seen here such explanations, and such a conduct, as would have satisfied the Dignity and Honour of *England*

with respect to what has already passed, and would have offered a sufficient security in future for the maintenance of that respect towards the Rights, the Government, and the Tranquillity of Neutral Powers, which they have on every account the right to expect.

“ Neither this satisfaction, nor this security, is found in the terms of an Explanation which still declares to the Promoters of Sedition in every Country, what are the cases in which they may count beforehand on the support and succour of France; and which reserves to that Country the right of mixing herself in our internal affairs, whenever she shall judge it proper; and on principles incompatible with the political institutions of all the Countries of Europe. No one can avoid perceiving how much a declaration like this is calculated to encourage disorder and revolt in every Country. No one can be ignorant how contrary it is to the respect which is reciprocally due from Independent Nations, nor how repugnant to those principles which the KING has followed, on his part, by abstaining at all times from any interference whatever in the internal affairs of France. And this contrast is alone sufficient to shew, not only that England cannot consider such an explanation as satisfactory, but she must look upon it as a fresh avowal of those dispositions which she sees with so just an uneasiness and jealousy.

“ I proceed to the two other points of your Explanation, which concern the general dispositions of *France* with regard to the Allies of *Great Britain*, and the conduct of the Convention and its Officers relative to the *Scheldt*. The Declaration which you there make, “ that *France* will not attack *Holland* so long as that “ Power shall observe an exact Neutrality,” is conceived

ceived nearly in the same terms with that which you was charged to make in the name of His Most CHRISTIAN MAJESTY in the month of June last. Since that first Declaration was made, an Officer, stating himself to be employed in the service of *France*, has openly violated both the Territory and the Neutrality of the REPUBLIC, in going up the *Scheldt*, to attack the Citadel of *Antwerp*, notwithstanding the determination of the Government not to grant this Passage, and the formal Protest by which they opposed it. Since the same Declaration was made, the Convention has thought itself authorised to annul the Rights of the *Republic*, exercised within the limits of its own Territory, and enjoyed by virtue of the same Treaties by which her Independence is secured. And at the very moment when, under the name of an amicable Explanation, you renew to me in the same terms the promise of respecting the Independence and the Rights of *England* and her Allies, you announce to me, that those in whose name you speak, intend to maintain these open and injurious aggressions.

“It is not certainly on such a Declaration as this, that any reliance can be placed for the continuance of public Tranquillity.

“But I am unwilling to leave without a more particular reply, what you say on the subject of the *Scheldt*. If it were true that this question is in itself of little importance, this would only serve to prove more clearly, that it was brought forward only for the purpose of insulting the Allies of *England*, by the infraction of their Neutrality, and by the violation of their Rights, which the Faith of Treaties obliges us to maintain. But you cannot

cannot be ignorant, that here the utmost importance is attached to those principles which *France* wishes to establish by this proceeding, and to those consequences which would naturally result from them ; and that not only those principles, and those consequences, will never be admitted by *England*, but that she is, and ever will be, ready to oppose them with all her force.

“ *France* can have no right to annul the stipulation relative to the *Scheldt*, unless she have also the right to set aside equally all the other Treaties between all the Powers of *Europe*, and all the other Rights of *England*, or of her Allies. She can even have no pretence to interfere in the question of opening the *Scheldt*, unless she were the Sovereign of the *Low Countries*, or had the right to dictate Laws to all Europe.

“ *England* never will consent that *France* shall arrogate the power of annulling at her pleasure, and under the pretence of a pretended natural right, of which she makes herself the only judge, the Political System of Europe, established by solemn Treaties, and guaranteed by the consent of all the Powers. This Government, adhering to the maxims which it has followed for more than a Century, will also never see with indifference that *France* shall make herself, either directly or indirectly, Sovereign of the *Low Countries*, or general Arbitress of the Rights and Liberties of Europe. If *France* is really desirous of maintaining friendship and peace with *England*, she must shew herself disposed to renounce her views of aggression and aggrandizement, and to confine herself within her own Territory, without insulting other Governments, without disturbing their Tranquillity, without violating their Rights.

“ With

“ With respect to that character of ill-will which is endeavoured to be found in the conduct of *England* towards *France*, I cannot discuss it, because you speak of it in general terms only, without alledging a single fact. All Europe has seen the justice and the generosity which have characterized the conduct of the KING: His MAJESTY has always been desirous of Peace: He desires it still, but such as may be real, and solid, and consistent with the Interests and Dignity of his own Dominions, and with the general security of Europe.

“ On the rest of your paper, I say nothing.—As to what relates to me and to my Colleagues, the KING’s Ministers owe to His MAJESTY the account of their conduct; and I have no answer to give to you on this subject, any more than on that of the Appeal which you propose to make to the English Nation. This Nation, according to that Constitution by which its Liberty and its Prosperity are secured, and which it will always be able to defend against every attack, direct, or indirect, will never have with Foreign Powers connection or correspondence, except through the organ of its KING; of a KING whom it loves and reveres, and who has never for an instant separated his Rights, his Interests, and his Happiness, from the Rights, the Interests, and the Happiness of his People.

“ GRENVILLE.”



THE MINISTERS OF THE INTERIOR AND JUSTICE OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, IN RESPONSE TO A RESOLUTION OF THE SENATE, PASSED MAY 1, 1902, HAVE THE HONOR TO ACKNOWLEDGE THE RECEIPT OF THE FOLLOWING:

THE SPEECH OF VERCAUTEREN AT THE
CONVENTION, 1917, WITH A
REMARKS BY THE CHAIRMAN OF THE CONVENTION

[illegible]

1. The Bureau of the International Union of Pure and Applied Chemistry (IUPAC) has decided to recommend the use of the term "molar" for the unit of concentration, to be used in place of "mole per liter" and "mole per cubic decimeter".

LAST AT WASHINGTON, D. C. 20540

1. The first part of the document is a letter from the President of the United States to the Congress, dated July 4, 1776. It is a declaration of independence from Great Britain.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

[illegible]

THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF THE ABOLITION OF SLAVERY

[illegible]

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